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TITLE: Media Studies and the Global Polity: WEF, S11 and Sydney 2000.

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Media Studies and the Global Polity: WEF, S11 and Sydney 2000.

In 1998 an international coalition of non-government organizations (NGOs) and national governments mounted a very successful campaign of opposition to the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI). International demonstrations, from Seattle to Melbourne, continue to draw popular attention to 'a kind of deficit of democracy at the international level'.[1] Media academics and journalists alike wonder whether this is evidence of a 'nascent global civil society',[2] with the potential to call international capital to account, and provide 'a genuine alternative to corporate rule'.[3] Others still have dismissed such possibilities as 'naive phantasms'.[4]

Whether they are isolated incidents or a Mexican Wave of anti-globalization sentiment, these demonstrations can be understood as explorations in the possibilities and limits of citizenship in the 'global village'. They provide an important opportunity to consider the ways in which media are deeply implicated in the development of a nascent global polity and a reminder of the continuing importance of Media Studies.

This analysis commences by contrasting media coverage and usage in connection with three global media events that converged on Australia in September 2000. Contrasts are drawn between the Asia-Pacific meeting of the World Economic Forum (WEF), the associated protest in Melbourne from 11-13 September 2000 (S11), and the Sydney 2000 Olympics that immediately followed. These highlight the connected and contested politics of inclusion in global civil society. Discussed also, are important variations in the demotic impulses and uses of different media – the press, broadcast media and the Internet – as well as their particular 'space-binding' characteristics.[5] The centrality of media in negotiating and constructing the global imaginary, as well as economies and governmental institutions, is argued in the context of developments in Media Studies that take account of globalization.

The author's Brisbane-based experience of the mediated events considered here impacts upon the analysis in a number of ways. The perspective found here is obtained from the vantage point of a media researcher and global audience member who was simultaneously located in Australia. Local media, especially radio, which are limited in reach to audiences in Melbourne and Sydney, would provide another important set of data for analysis but, principally due to the spatial separation from events, are not considered here.

S11, WEF AND THE INTERNET

In the lead up to the WEF Asia-Pacific meeting and the S11 protests, *Australian Financial Review* columnist Alan Kohler observed, 'the modern anti-globalisation protest movement not only uses the internet better than any corporation has yet managed to do, in a way the movement actually mimics the structure of the internet as well'.[6] Certainly S11 organizers used the Internet very effectively as a communication and information dissemination medium, while main print and television media tended to persist with their more rigid and familiar 'one-to-many' flows of information on their Internet sites. Exceptions here included a poll run by ninemsn on whether police violence used to contain the Melbourne protests was excessive. This related to a report on Network Nine's *Sunday* programme that took a protester point-of-view on the question of police violence. ABC News also hosted a Message Board in conjunction with the WEF meeting on its web site.[7]

The look and feel of the S11 web site reflected the distributed organizational structure of the S11 alliance in a number of ways. In the months leading up to the blockade it grew as an easy-to-navigate informational and logistical resource, providing background to the WEF and the planned S11 protest. It also functioned as a gateway to the broader international fair trade (as distinct from free trade) movement.[8] It provided links to S11 alliance participants (comprised of environmental, trades unions, human rights, special interest and student groups). It linked to extensive email networks of affinity groups and other organizational units of the protest, as well as to general discussion lists dedicated to protest issues. Other interactive features of the web site included S11 'propaganda' downloads, an S11 webcam focused on the WEF meeting venue, Melbourne's Crown Casino, and a 'Call 2 Action' email letter that visitors could forward to friends. It also linked to main media Internet coverage of the WEF meeting and the S11 protest, as well as to independent media commentary on the protests. A link to the *The Age* WEF web page was accompanied by the following text: 'warning: fairfax is a member of the wef'.[9] No declarations or denials of this interest were found in Fairfax media monitored for this analysis.

Melbourne Indymedia was actively promoted on the S11 web page as a reliable source of news and information about the protest, as were other not-for-profit broadcast media in Melbourne media (most notably community radio 3CR and SKA TV Access News broadcast on Channel 31 community TV). Melbourne Indymedia is principally a locally versioned web-based alternative news and information service. It is affiliated with, and inspired by, the Indymedia network, established in conjunction with the 1999 Seattle protests, and part of a much larger international independent media center movement. At the time of writing this article there were numerous Indymedia points of presence in nine countries, including Australia. [10]

An Indymedia presence was also established in Sydney in August and September 2000 to report the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games that also took place in September 2000. The Sydney Indymedia site was initially only active for a four week period prior to, and during the Olympics, after which time it was frozen as 'a permanent

record of our experience of protesting the many social injustices highlighted and/or exacerbated by the Olympics.'[11] It did not stay moribund for long and has been 'live' for most of 2001. Melbourne Indymedia also continues as a 'live' web presence and a number of print-based Indymedia editions have also been produced.

The S11 web site was also 'frozen' when the blockade ended but still remains accessible. At the time of writing S11 was in the process of morphing into another entity. A new website was being built upon the old one to support the 'M1' campaign, aimed at individual corporations and other emblems of global capital in protest actions for May Day 2001.[12]

The other web presence to be considered here is that of the World Economic Forum itself. Established as a philanthropic foundation in the early 1970s, with support from European Commission and industry associations, the WEF was quickly turned into a membership-based organization and a global business network. According to WEF President, Klaus Schwab, his organization is 'a truly global community'. He continues:

> We are building the network society. This means that elites will more and more disappear. The new network society will be open and access should be guaranteed to everybody. For this reason, the World Economic Forum has increased its exposure by creating a web-site that allows all the members of the global civic society to be integrated into our activities.[13]

In fact enfranchisement in this particular expression of global civil society is very limited. Access to the whole WEF website is restricted to WEF members only. Important details about the WEF's membership and its operations were not available on the publicly accessible parts of the WEF website at the time of writing. For example, although the WEF boasts the top 1000 global enterprises as its membership base, non-members cannot see the WEF membership directory on this website. The S11 action, and associated media coverage, effectively 'outed' the WEF and its extensive influence in the development of global trade governance arrangements. They seriously disrupted WEF pretensions as the incubator of a benign global order, not just its Melbourne meeting.

TELEVISING THE REVOLUTION

The semblance of global unity was quickly re-asserted with the commencement of the Olympics, but cracks in this façade were still visible to those who looked for them. Television images of an excitable Bill Gates at the Opening Ceremony of the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games, the day after the WEF Melbourne meeting ended, suggested that the WEF meeting was not the main global spectacle he had traveled to Australia to participate in. Indeed, it was only the lure of the Sydney 2000 Olympics that could persuade WEF members to travel as far as Australia for the Asia Pacific meeting.[14]

Ever since Neil Armstrong walked upon the moon the potential of television to support the development of cosmopolitan global consciousness has been popularly recognized.[15] Global media events, such as the moon landing or the Sydney 2000 Olympics, demonstrate the potential levelling effect of television: 'neither power, nor money, nor dexterity gives advantage'.[16] Participation in the event is available to anyone who can access it on a television. However, in his analysis of the Sydney Olympics, David Rowe argues that even developments in 'home stadium' television technology did not substitute for the sensory experience of the unique ambient aura associated with actually 'being there'. Home viewing was, comparatively, 'an

"impoverished" (or at least inferior) experience'[17] and, 'the enforced scarcity of the in-person experience, as opposed to the automatic plenitude of its living room equivalent, seems to still tip the balance in favour of "being there"'.[18] The proximity of the WEF Asia-Pacific meeting to the Sydney Olympics strengthens the force of Rowe's analysis as well as the S11 critique of the WEF.

The politics of presence at each of the events considered here were entirely different. To participate in the Olympics as a spectator, either proximate or remote, was to bear unified witness to the 'highest expression of a noble human spirit'.[19] The television experience of being at the Melbourne blockade was polarized between S11 gatecrashers and exclusive WEF members and invited guests, and climaxed with familiar images of stand-offs and violent clashes between protesters and police.

Bernard Barrett has already analyzed main media scripts about violence in the lead up to the WEF meeting.[20] Barrett concludes that national and commercial media were, in overall effect, 'counter-protesters' to the S11 actions. The views and actions of WEF supporters and participants were generally approvingly reported. S11 protesters were discursively positioned as sources of imminent acts of violence and threatening 'outsiders'. Television images consistently showed the Force Response Unit of the Victoria Police as the perpetrators of violence.[21] Yet audiences were routinely directed to quite contrary preferred meanings by the commentaries accompanying these images.

In fact the positioning of S11 protests in television news reports was far more complex than this analysis credits, particularly when contrasted with the benign unity of main media Olympics reportage. Barrett's apprehension of a deep contradiction in television coverage of S11 is, nevertheless, interesting. It resonates with another analysis of the historical influence of the news camera in Australia as 'the uncertain eye', positioned erratically between an entertainment cash box and an instrument of enlightened social change, but which nevertheless helps us to better see, think, share and know.[22] John Hartley attributes this capacity of television to the fact that, as a textual system, this medium has demonstrated a remarkable capacity to represent an ever-expanding repertoire of cultural difference.[23] Andrew Calabrese has also argued that the resulting media 'ambivalence' is in fact an important feature of globalization, from which, 'political wisdom can grow as steadily, if not more so, out of the seeds of ambivalence as from a refusal to accept the strategic usefulness of compromise.'[24]

This productive potential of media 'ambivalence' was apparent in Network Nine's *Sunday* coverage, already noted. It divided into two roughly equal parts. The first was an extended news review of the week's events both inside and outside Melbourne's Crown Casino. This part of the coverage was very similar to coverage provided throughout the week on national and commercial networks, down to and including, the internal inconsistencies observed by Barrett. The second part of the *Sunday* coverage consisted of a report by independent documentary makers that took a particular interest in abuses of the coercive authority of the Victorian State in siding with the WEF 'free trade' position.[25] The significant textual difference between this and other television reporting was the internal consistency between the images and accompanying commentary. However, its inclusion within the *Sunday* program actually served to heighten the overall sense of media ambivalence.

IMPRESSIONS OF THE NATIONAL INTEREST

The agenda-setting daily press (*The Australian*, *The Age*, *The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The Australian Financial Review*) seemed to take very seriously their 'Fourth Estate' role as the media of public record. Fairfax stable mates, *The Age* and *The*

Sydney Morning Herald, went so far as to jointly publish and distribute a forty-page magazine-style supplement to coincide with the WEF Melbourne meeting. According to Steve Harris, Editor-in-Chief and Publisher of *The Age* at the time, this initiative aimed to focus readers' minds upon 'the real choices faced by modern nations…about how best to adapt to global change, how to make the most of new opportunities and how to distribute income fairly within their own society and the global village in which we all reside'.[26] Harris's editorial comments allude to the historical role of the print media as a key cultural technology in the formation and maintenance of nation states, national culture and the legitimacy of rule by national governments.[27] They also point to the self-interest of agenda-setting print media in 'the nation' and their contingent place in a post-sovereign world. In an era of rapid change and multiplying sources of information and channels of communication, the supplement aimed to assure readers that traditionally authoritative sources of information (such as the Fairfax mastheads) could be relied upon to responsibly represent the globalization debate. Steve Harris continued:

> The media must meet the challenges of the times: to give a voice to both the leaders and to the voiceless and, through debate with focus, to give shape to the issues and to the dimensions, options and implications of the changes and opportunities we face. Publishing this magazine in Melbourne and Sydney, in a major joint publishing exercise between the nation's two leading newspapers, is part of our commitment to trying to meet those challenges.

Also implicit in Harris's comments was a conviction that the print media could more responsibly represent the popular will in matters of national interest than other non-elected agencies, particularly the range of NGOs sympathetic to, and represented in, fair trade actions. Indeed, I argue that this is precisely the position from which agenda-setting print media coverage of the WEF meeting and S11 protest can be understood. Critics of global capital were given opportunities to directly put their views in op-ed and opinion pieces and, in this way, the agenda-setting press also contributed to the sense of media ambivalence about the globalization debate. For example in an Opinion piece published in *The Australian*, ACTU President, Sharan Burrow argued the case for Australian Government support of environmental, human and labour rights in negotiating all multilateral trade agreements.[28] Critics of Australia's human rights record were also heard. [29] However Harris's editorial appeal to balanced and reasonable debate was about as strong as reports and opinion pieces by print media staffers generally got on the need for global capital to be civilized during the period of the WEF meeting and S11 protests.

MEDIA STUDIES AND A POST-SOVEREIGN WORLD

Andrew Calabrese argues that since the establishment of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1996 we have entered a 'post-sovereign' era in which supranational structures have been created to assume authority in circumscribed arenas including international trade.[30] Agencies such as the WTO and the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) supersede national sovereignty in their specific areas of activity and in this way qualitatively differ from earlier international communication, coordination and control agencies. Media are shown in this article to be deeply implicated in the escalating contest between 'free' and 'fair' trade advocates to shape and capture the post-sovereign 'imaginary'[31] as well as material social relations. The centrality of media in this struggle can also be imputed from

WEF managing director Claude Smadja's comment that, 'capitalism by itself can't shape community identity'.[32]
Another way to think about what is occurring here is to consider changes in the ways that pressure to submit the rules of global governance to broader scrutiny has been mediated. In 1998 Labor's 'Third Way' advocate, Mark Latham, observed:

> ...while the world over the past decade has been able to watch the fall of the ideological barriers between nations (precisely because these events were suitable for television), there has been relatively little awareness of the extent to which economic walls have also fallen. The invisible hand of the global market is not easily televised. Consequently, massive changes in the nature of private capital have, in most respects, remained outside the scrutiny of the public arena.[33]

The workings of the global economy are still arcane. However, hostility to the poor record of accountability for the engines of global growth – transnational corporations – has become more visible. The defeat of the MAI was more an Internet than a television event that exposed to international public scrutiny the secretive character of negotiations surrounding this potentially very important instrument of globalization. Had it succeeded, the MAI would have seen sovereignty in this area of economic activity hastily pass from national governments to supranational agents. This is still likely to occur within the framework of the World Trade Organization (WTO) which is why the WTO and its key sources of support, such as the WEF, are targets for protest actions. Nevertheless, according to Calabrese the MAI defeat, 'is a story that gives heart to any vision of a democratic and cosmopolitan civil society, and optimism towards the potential uses of the means of communication in transnational political action.'[34]
Buoyed by the MAI defeat, fair trade advocates have continued to question the legitimacy of the new global trade governance arrangements in increasingly visible ways. Demonstrations in Seattle in November 1999 succeeded in delaying the scheduled start of the Millennium round of the WTO's trade in services negotiations. The S11 blockade of the WEF Asia Pacific meeting, held in Melbourne just prior to the Sydney 2000 Olympics, was another manifestation of a broader international movement that has as its goal the civilization of global capital. Importantly, this movement is not beholden to the orthodox public sphere of the main media. Operating from new communicative spaces, 'no longer coterminous with delimited national territory',[35] fair trade advocates simultaneously challenge and inform the affective and effective influences, as well as architectures of main media flows and uses.
The comparative analysis of the WEF meeting, the S11 response and the Sydney 2000 Olympics offered here, aims to contribute to a growing body of work within media studies that seeks to correct a tendency in current critical literature on globalization which positions media and communication 'as epiphenomena of political-economic change'.[36] Roger Silverstone asserts this critique in the following terms: 'Politics, like experience, can no longer even be considered outside a media frame.'[37] John Hartley similarly argues that the Habermassian public sphere is contained within the wider 'mediasphere', which in turn is enclosed within the semiosphere, 'the whole universe of sense-making by whatever means, including speech.'[38] Also contained within Hartley's mediasphere are numerous vital and globalised minoritarian public spheres, such as those of the Asian diasporic media studied by Stuart Cunningham, John Sinclair and others.[39]

An important proposition that arises in these approaches to media is that 'the commercial realm must be factored into the debate more centrally and positively than it has to date.'[40] This also informs an important, recent turn in cultural policy studies to 'creative industries' that seeks such an understanding of the relationship between culture and economy.[41] More precisely, it focuses upon the relationship between creativity, enterprise, and the 'new' services economy of the networked society. The familiar dichotomy of 'high' and 'low' culture is set aside in order to grasp 'the materiality and corporeality'[42] of this 'weightless economy'. The pragmatic policy concern here is with how the economic benefits of globalization can be captured in various geographic locations. Ultimately, however, the critical interest is in civic and social renewal as well as economic development.[43] Its effect in policy discourse could be to bind non-economic dimensions of the productive capacity of creativity to the economic. In this respect the creative industries turn also localizes within the orbit of media studies, ethical and ecological questions of global proportions that are also being pondered in sections of the environment and the free trade movements. Simply stated here, they include how it is possible to make a buck without trashing the planet and its people.

The complex enabling capacity of new media also leads back to the variety of ways in which Media Studies can now be practiced as a pedagogy of civic empowerment. Computer-mediated-communication certainly breathes new life into Media Studies.[44] Importantly, and to the extent that networked computers increasingly figure as a basic infrastructure of teaching and learning, Media Studies is no longer confined by resource considerations to 'thinking about' media. Students are likely to respond well to initiatives in Media Studies that seek to integrate theory and practice, with an eye to employment outcomes. Yet there are new risks and responsibilities, as well as opportunities, associated with the extent to which we can now more easily able to 'do' media.

The interest demonstrated by students in exploring the possible meanings of global citizenship during the S11 action was a cause of considerable media anxiety, bordering on moral panic. Media debate about the suitability of actions such as S11 as a civics lesson erupted in the lead up to the WEF Melbourne meeting.[45] It continued to be fuelled by the tabloid press afterwards to the extent that at least one educational institution felt obliged to distance itself from the protest movement.[46] If, as Silverstone argues, it is indeed 'all about power',[47] then perhaps we need also to consider how we might assist our students and institutions when they find themselves at the front line of governance debates in a post-sovereign world, as indeed occurred in connection with the S11 protests.

Importantly, globalization appears to simultaneously favour (and be driven by) those institutions, such as electronic media, which bind populations across social space, and disrupt the authority of 'traditional' institutions that have cohered civil society over time (for example, family, church, school, nation) but, on closer examination, 'the virtues of mutual trust may not be as endangered as the direction of society otherwise suggests'.[48] Another proposition for media studies that arises from this discussion is that civic trust *is* attainable across national borders. Although arguably still nascent, it is clearly not the exclusive preserve of vertical networks of social connection. It can be achieved through hierarchically flatter arrangements on a global scale. Alternatively, we might seek a 'third way' here too. To paraphrase Ken Wark, perhaps we could also benefit from a better understanding of the complex relationships between, and the productive potentials of, those institutional

arrangements that provide us with social 'roots' and those that equip us with 'aerials'.[49]

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[1] F. Fukuyama, quoted in P. Hartcher, 'Protest is winning argument', *The Australian Financial Review*, 12 September 2000, p.6.
[2] A. Calabrese (1999a). 'Communication and the end of sovereignty?' *Info*, Vol. 1 No. 4 (August): 313-326.
[3] N. Klein (2000). *No Logo*. London, Flamingo, p. xxi.
[4] J. Rabkin, 'Protests all mirrors and string', *AFR*, 30 August 2000, p.41.
[5] This term is derived from the work of communication historians who argue that technological modes of communication are deeply implicated in the historical development of human knowledge and social interaction. For example, electronic media are said to exhibit a strongly attenuated space 'bias' in the social relations they support. This is contrasted with oral and aural traditions that are said to have a time 'bias' because they favour the production and reproduction of social relations over time rather than across geographic space. See, for example, James Carey *Communication as Culture.Essays on Media and Society*. Routledge, New York (1992).
[6] A. Kohler, 'Opinion', *AFR*, 29 August 2000, p.41.
[7] ABC News. Message Board. 'World Economic Forum'. Available at: http://www2c.abc.net.au/news/forum/forum7/default.htm. Accessed 10 January 2001.
[8] S11 website. Available at: http://www.s11.org/s14/index.html. Accessed 10 January 2001.
[9] 'S11 in the Media', S11 Web site. Available at: http://www.s11.org/s14/s11.html. Accessed 10 January 2001.
[10] 'About indymedia'. Available at: http://www.indymedia.org/about.php3. Accessed 10 January 2001.
[11] FAQ 'Introduction to the Sydney Independent Media Centre'. Available at: http://www.sydney.indymedia.org/fish.php3?file=faq. Accessed 10 January 2001. This web page no longer appears to be on the Sydney indymedia site. Similarly, the Olympics site, initially frozen for posterity, disappeared after this time.
[12] 'S11=M1', website. Available at: http://www.s11.org/. Accessed 10 January 2001.
[13] 'Behind the Forum'. Available at: www.weforum.org/aboutforum.nsf/Documents/Home+-+About+the+Forum+-+Behind+the+Forum. Accessed 10 January 2001.
[14] S. Dabkowski, (2000). 'The Business Olympics', *SMH/Age*, 'Towards the Future' supplement September, p.8.
[15] R. Lloyd, (1997). 'The Place of Spirit in the Spirit of Place. Culture, Conscience and Consciousness in 2000/2001', in C. Spurgeon (ed) *Cultural Crossroads. Conference Papers*. Communications Law Centre, Sydney.
[16] Dayan and Katz quoted in Rowe, op. cit., p.16.
[17] Rowe, op.cit., p.18.
[18] Rowe, op.cit., p.19.
[19] D. Rowe, (2000). 'Global Media Events and the Positioning of Presence.' *Media International Australia*, No. 97 (November): 11-21 (p.14).
[20]B. Barrett, (2000). *Beating up: a report on police batons and the news media at the World Economic Forum*, Melbourne, September 2000. Available at: http://home.vicnet.net.au/~gcforum/BarrettReport.htm. Accessed 23 December 2000.
[21] Barrett op.cit. 10 Conclusions.
[22] 'The Uncertain Eye' was the title of a three part summer series broadcast on ABC Four Corners in December 1997. Narrated by Chris Masters, and rich in splendid archival footage, it provided a fascinating insight into the history of the TV news camera. Unfortunately neither the series nor a transcript are available, possibly for reasons of copyright.
[23] J. Hartley, (1999). *Uses of Television*. London, Routledge. Hartley has also explored a similar proposition in relation to the development of the popular press. See, J. Hartley (1996) 'Popular Reality: Journalism, Modernity, Popular Culture', London, England: St Martins Press.
[24] A. Calabrese (1999b). The Welfare State, the Information Society, and the Ambivalence of Social Movements, in, A. Calabrese and J. Burgelman (eds) *Communication, Citizenship, and Social Policy. Rethinking the Limits of the Welfare State*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, p. 266.
[25] D.Wilson and M.Evans, *Sunday*, Nine Network, 17 September, 2000.
[26] S. Harris, 'Towards the Future WEF Asia Pacific Economic Summit 2000', *SMH/Age* supplement op.cit., p.5.
[27] Calabrese (1999a), op.cit.
[28] S. Burrow, 'Globally the tide's turning', *The Australian*, 7 September 2000, p.11.

[29] For example, G. Evans, 'Exposed as hypocrites on human rights', *The Australian*, 6 September 2000, p.15.
[30] Calabrese (1999a) op.cit.
[31] R. Silverstone (1999) 'Why Study the Media?' London: Sage, p. 113.
[32] S. Dabkowski, (2000). 'Globalisation: the sequel', SMH/Age supplement op.cit., p.17.
[33] M. Latham, (1998). *Civilising Global Capital. New thinking for Australian Labor*. Allen & Unwin, p.30.
[34] Calabrese (1999a) op.cit. p. 325.
[35] D. Held et.al., (1999). *Global Transformation. Politics, Economics and Culture*. Cambridge: Polity Press (p. 445.)
[36] Calabrese (1999b) op. cit. p. 269.
[37] Silverstone, op. cit. p. 144.
[38] Hartley op. cit. p.217-218.
[39] S. Cunningham and J. Sinclair (eds) (2000). *Floating Lives. The Media and Asian Diasporas*. University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia.
[40] S. Cunningham (2000) 'Diasporic Media and Public "Sphericules"', School of Media and Journalism, QUT (unpublished).
[41] J. O'Connor. 'The Definition of "Cultural Industries"'. Manchester Institute for Popular Culture, Manchester Metropolitan University. Available at: www.mmu.ac.uk/h-ss/mipc (accessed 10/4/01).
[42] A. Pratt (1998) 'A 'Third Way' for the creative industries. Hybrid cultures: the role of bytes and atoms in locating the new cultural economy and society.' Available at: www.digital-law.net/IJCLP/1_1998/ijclp_webdoc_4_1_1998.html (accessed 10/4/01).
[43] For example, C. Leadbeater (2000) 'Creating Social Capital' in, *Living on Thin Air. The New Economy*. London: Penguin.
[44] This argument is very provocatively made by David Gauntlett. See D. Gauntlett (ed) (2000) Web.Studies: Rewiring media studies for the digital age. London: Arnold.
[45] For example, G. Healy, 'Radicals step up school recruiting', *The Australian*, 5 September 2000, p.3.
[46] For example, 'Response by RMIT University to Sunday Herald claims. RMIT Media Statement. Sunday 26 November 2000. Available at: http://www.rmit.edu.au/cgi-bin/news/news.cgi?v=archive&c=Latest_RMIT_Media_Releases&id=1127200093745. Accessed 11 January 2001.
[47] Silverstone, op. cit. p. 143.
[48] Latham, op.cit. 278.
[49] K. Wark (1997) The Virtual republic. Australia's Culture Wars of the 1990s. Allen & Unwin, Sydney.